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THE FACE OF THE INFORMER
Joseph Mazzei, finger man in the Nelson case

THE LAW

High court ruling on Nelson a blow to informer racket

THE SUPREME COURT last week halted hearings on the appeal of five Pennsylvania Communists convicted under the Smith Act, recessed for 40 minutes and came back with a brief announcement that marked perhaps the greatest legal victory yet in the fight against the witch-hunt. The convictions were wiped out and the five freed. The Government, if it still wished to prosecute, would have to start all over again with a new trial. The swiftness of the decision, like the decision itself, was unusual.

The Court was spared from making a fundamental determination of the constitutionality of the Smith Act, but its decision was nonetheless far reaching, for it again discredited conviction by paid informer. The ruling was by a vote of 6 to 3 with Justices Frankfurter, Burton and Harlan dissenting.

For CP leaders Steve Nelson, William Albertson, Benjamin Carreathers, James Dolsen and Irving Weissman the decision climaxed six years of battle in and out of prison against Smith Act and sedition charges. Last year the Supreme Court overturned Nelson's conviction under the Pennsylvania Sedition Act and thereby ruled that similar laws in 27 states were superseded by Federal law.

TAINTED PROSECUTION: The Court's decision last week was prompted primarily by the unprecedented spectacle of the Government admitting that its star witness Joseph D. Mazzei, a professional informer, was a perjurer with a record of adultery and bastardy.

The government, alarmed at the extent of Mazzei's perjury which involved not only Communists but the FBI itself, asked the Supreme Court to remand the case to a lower court to test Mazzei's "credibility." Government attorneys insisted that despite their star witness' record he was truthful when he testified against Nelson and the others in Pittsburgh.

The Supreme Court's action in tossing out the entire case made it plain that the use of perjured informers had tainted the prosecution. The decision came after a long series of government informers had been exposed as perjurers. Ironically, it was handed down only a few weeks after ex-informer Harvey Matusow was sentenced to five years' imprisonment on a charge of lying when he confessed to the kind of perjury the state admits was practiced by Matusow's one-time colleague in government service, Mazzei.

STEVE NELSON
The star witness fell

THE UGLY PORTRAIT: The government itself drew a portrait of the typical informer in its motion to remand the case. Mazzei had been employed as an undercover agent in the Communist Party from 1942 to 1953. His testimony was used against unionists, including John Nelson, (no relation to Steve), president of United Electrical Workers Local 506 at Erie, Pa. As a result of Mazzei's testimony John Nelson lost his job at General Electric and was blacklisted in the industry. Mazzei testified in labor, security

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CAMPAIGN LIMPS TOWARD END

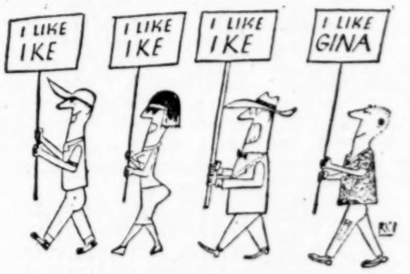
Adlai finds 'sleeper' issue: ban on atom bomb tests

By Elmer Bendiner

IN 1948 PRESIDENT Truman promised to negotiate with the Russians. In 1952 Eisenhower promised personally to stop the war in Korea. Last week Adlai Stevenson took the peace pledge. He promised that, if elected, his "first order of business" will be to confer with the atomic powers on ending hydrogen bomb tests.

In a TV appearance with Democratic Sens. Clinton Anderson (N.M.) and Stuart Symington (Mo.), Stevenson made his bid—then hedged it. He repeated the Administration's claim that the Russians had balked all disarmament efforts and that, pending an agreement on our terms, we must continue to stockpile and step up research into smaller nuclear weapons and guided missiles. The difference with the Eisenhower position was small and seemed to narrow still more when Symington criticized Mr. Eisenhower for slashing Air Force appropriations.

THE "SLEEPER": For days before Stevenson's peace stroke, the Democratic camp had been reported jubilant but cautious. Stevenson's advisers were said to have found that the problem of survival in the atomic age was a "sleeper" among election issues. Stevenson himself had tried the question out and convinced the professionals that it had appeal.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

Some of his lieutenants still thought peace ticklish. Earlier Stevenson had urged an end to the draft some time soon but added that he thought war preparations would be more efficient if they concentrated on trained specialists rather than masses of unskilled manpower. Then, in traditional Cold War fashion, Stevenson charged his opponent with failing to speed the liberation of people under socialism.

IKE STANDS PAT: The President, indulging in the popular superstition that Republican administrations do not go to war, and still taking credit for ending

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UNITED NATIONS

Door to Suez negotiations kept open

By Kumar Goshal

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

AT A DRAMATIC MEETING convened at the unusual hour of 9:30 p.m. on Oct. 13, the UN Security Council unanimously endorsed the preamble of a new Anglo-French resolution on the Suez Canal. The resolution's operative part, however, was killed by a "No" vote (tantamount to veto) by the U.S.S.R. Yugoslavia voted with the Soviet Union.

The six-point preamble was worked out around a coffee table in the living room of UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold's suite on the 38th floor of the UN building. Besides Hammarskjold, the participants were the Egyptian, British and French foreign ministers and a UN interpreter.

Rumors flew thick and fast as India's Krishna Menon hovered in the background and high-ranking Western officials dropped hints to correspondents during the four-day secret conference that began Oct. 9. It was said that Britain had agreed to the Indian proposal for a canal supervisory board but was demanding that the board must have authority to apply automatic sanctions should Egypt interfere in canal traffic.

NO SKIN SHOWED: On the third day French Foreign Minister Pineau remarked that the conference so far consisted of "all words, words." Another Western official accused Egyptian Foreign Minister Fawzi of "conducting a strip tease [but not showing] an inch of skin." Fawzi

(Continued on Page 4)

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THE MAIL BAG

What's good for Suez . . .

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

According to a letter in the N.Y. **Times** (8/18/56) the following passage from Chief Justice Waite's majority opinion in Munn v. Illinois, 94 US, (1876) is relevant to the Suez Canal dispute: "[Private] property does become clothed with a public interest when used in a manner to make it of public consequence, and affect the community at large. When, therefore, one devotes his property to use in which the public has an interest, he, in effect, grants to the public an interest in that use, and must submit to be controlled by the public for the common good, to the extent of the interest he has created."

Could anyone print a better plea not only for the internationalization of, say, Suez, Panama, etc., but also for the nationalization of, say, General Motors, General Electric, Standard Oil, Con. Edison, A. T. & T., or what have you? What's good for Suez is good for GM and vice versa, ain't it? **Bodo C. Ohly**

Sauce for the gander

HAVERHILL, MASS.

Why limit to the East the blessings of international control? Why can't the Panama Canal benefit from international control? The UN should pilot the boats and collect tolls from the users of the Panama Canal. The money collected would be handled by the UN for the U.S.A.

The Panama and Suez canals were created under precisely the same conditions. It becomes increasingly obvious that if the UN must regulate traffic through the one international waterway, it must also through the other.

Mina I. Lewis

Alimentary user

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Suez is sovereign to Egypt as the Mississippi is to U.S. Let's mind our own business. I'll not shed one drop of blood for the Suez Canal. There is one canal that vitally concerns me, it is the Alimentary Canal and the passage of good food regularly and uninterruptedly. **V.M.S.**

Point of information

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Will those Russian observers
Election Day
Observe how Negroes vote not
In South U.S.A.?

L. G.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

CHICAGO, Oct. 3.—(UP)—An ulcer should be regarded as the badge of success, Dr. Heinrich Necheles, director of the Michael Reese Medical Center's gastro-intestinal department, told a group of businessmen yesterday.

"I would rather not have an ulcer and be successful," Necheles admitted. "But if I had one, I would not be ashamed of it, because in my opinion it would be like a kind of medal for distinguished services and would indicate that in some ways my drives and my energy were above average."

—Seattle **Times**, 10/3

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: E. B, Seattle, Wash. Be sure to include original clip with each entry.

Culture of immobility

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I'm afraid I'm one of the recalcitrants just moved to responding to your call for funds. Enclosed is $5 with a pledge to enlist a buck-a-month to the cause by the 15th of each month.

I think the phlegmatic behavior of the readership, myself included, comes in part from an integument of immobility, which the culture has succeeded in slipping over us. With times relatively prosperous (certainly Americans possess more worldly goods than most of the world's people at present) we overreach the bounds of necessity, and there never seems to be enough money. We are too lulled by the comforts to assume the spartan discipline of struggle.

My husband and I read your lovely little paper from beginning to end each week. With the exception of certain areas, we endorse your formulation of ideas and enjoy the factual and interesting style.

One area in which we feel there has been too much silence all around is the abysmal situation in the public schools. I'm not referring here to the usual complaints of low teacher salaries or the overcrowding of classrooms, but to the absence of content and standards and to the pugnaciousness generated in the children by the laissez-faire attitude. The non-intellectual crafts-ridden curriculum is creating a generation of semi-illiterate youngsters, or culturally-deprived ones, at best.

Bella Zeldin

Above the carnivore

DETROIT, MICH.

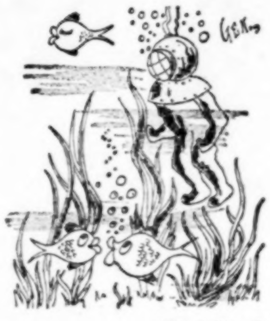
In our quest for justice, it is my deep conviction that justice must be extended to all sentient creatures. With world peace and the rights of individuals restored we would still be short on civilization as long as we support that savage, cruel, economic flop: the meat industry. Such rugged individuals as Shaw, Kellogg and Nehru, to name only a few, are above the carnivore. The bills to abolish cruel slaughter met with little success in the U.S. Congress, but the savage habit of each individual can be changed without legislation. A better world would result from better people. **Mrs. George Norris**

Hay nonny, no!

MOSCOW, USSR.

"The world is a bundle of hay
"Mankind are the asses who pull;
"Each tugs it a different way
"And the greatest of all is John Bull,"
Said Byron in Britain's hey-day,
But hey-days don't last as a rule;
Now another, whose dollars ain't hay,
Is pulling the hay — and John Bull.

Archie Johnstone



Humanite, Paris

"Hey! Even people come in cans!"

The Matusow story

GLEN ELLEN, CALIF.

There were a couple of errors in my Oct. 8 article on the Matusow case which I'd like to correct.

A sentence was inadvertently omitted from my account of Asst. U.S. Atty. Bolan's giving me a mimeographed Government document containing a significant handwritten note. This note indicated that some member of the U.S. Attorney's staff doubted that the Government lawyers who used Matusow as a witness in the Flynn case believed he was then telling the truth. The missing sentence in my article made it clear that Bolan was unaware there were any handwritten notes in the document he gave me and did not know about them until I subsequently called them to his attention.

Also, a typographical error in my article made it appear that Matusow at one time testified under oath before a congressional committee that there were more than 100 Communist Party members on the Sunday staff of the N.Y. **Times** (which actually numbered less than 100 individuals). Matusow did make such a claim in a public speech; but in his testimony at the congressional hearing, while he declared there were a large number of Communists on the **Times**, he made no reference to the Sunday issue of the paper.

Albert E. Kahn

Pen Pals, Inc.

LUDHIANA, INDIA

To promote world peace, enlarge universal friendship, increase international trade, and promote high standards in business and professional life, Dhiman Press, Ludhiana-28, India, are publishing a **World Pen-Friends' Dictionary**, first of its kind. It is expected to be out next December. Nearly 100 countries are participating in it.

Those interested in establishing pen-friendships or seeking philatelists or hobbyists or increasing trade in other parts of the world are requested to send the following particulars immediately in English: name, age, address, telephone number, cable address, institution (if a student), and hobbies.

The publishers will include these particulars without charge.

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REPORT TO READERS

Vol. 9 No. 1

THE START OF OUR NINTH YEAR of publication makes us think back to our first, undertaken on Oct. 18, 1948, with enough money to produce five issues, if nobody drew any pay. **Time** magazine called our slender resources "a pink shoestring," guessed our political complexion would range "from pink to rosy red."

The three issues of the paper up to Election Day, 1948, reached only 5,000 or so paying subscribers but with promotion mailings got to as many as 75,000 people, most of them Progressive Party stalwarts throughout the country. Dedicated then as now to independent political action, we spent most of our space trying to rally the Progressive vote to its own candidates and away from that year's lesser evil, Harry Truman.

In Vol. 1 No. 2, although it meant breaking into the campaign news, we began to tear away the press curtain from the Trenton Six Case (and by Vol. 1 No. 38 were able to proclaim a new trial for them which led to their ultimate vindication).

In Vol. 1 No. 15 we went to bat for the U.S. Communist leaders then going on trial in the first Foley Square Smith Act proceedings, with a statement that concluded: "If they are convicted, almost all Americans will feel it where it hurts."

IT IS A MATTER OF PRIDE to us that the positions we assumed from the very outset, the foregoing among many others, got right down to the brass tacks without concern for consequences. With respect to the press blackout on news of the Trenton Case we asked, "Does American freedom of the press include freedom to connive at legal murder?" With respect to denunciation of Anna Louise Strong as a spy by the Soviet government, we stated in March, 1949: "Until full and particularized charges are made public against Miss Strong, and until she has had the opportunity to reply to them, fairness demands that judgment on the question of guilt or innocence be withheld by all."

It is a matter of pride, too, that the men and women who pitched in on those first GUARDIAN issues are still in there pitching. William A. Reuben, for example, the free-lance reporter who investigated both the Trenton Case and the Rosenberg-Sobell Case for the GUARDIAN (and later wrote **The Atom Spy Hoax**), has just completed a 144-page book called **The Honorable Mr. Nixon,** putting together for the first time the documented facts of Rep. Richard Nixon's part in the entrapment and probable frameup of Alger Hiss. (Price $1 from Action Books, 550 Fifth Av., New York 36.)

●

THE SMITH ACT, as we have pointed out repeatedly since Vol. 1, is a catch-all repression law which is at the very base of witch-hunting in the U.S. That it is up for review again this year by the Supreme Court is undoubtedly due to the fight against it waged by the progressives of this country, by an increasing number of leading citizens, by corps of courageous lawyers and by a precious few newspapers among which we count ourselves.

Already this term the Supreme Court has countermanded all the Pittsburgh convictions, after public pressure against the Dept. of Justice informer system forced the government to act on its own to discredit Joseph Mazzei as a patent liar (see p. 1). At the Appeals Court level in 1955 the Pittsburgh convictions had been affirmed, but with a ringing dissent by Justice William H. Hastie, joined by Justice Albert B. Maris, which declared there had been "no such proof as would warrant submission of the case to the jury" and that all the defendants were entitled to directed acquittals.

Without informer Mazzei and the previously discredited Matthew Cvetic, there is doubt that the Pittsburgh cases can be effectively brought to trial again. So your unceasing job of battling the Smith Act and the informer system is beginning to pay off.

FOR WASH. D.C., AND NEW YORK progressives there is an interesting sidelight to the Pittsburgh victory. With Pittsburgh attorney Hyman Schlesinger, counsel of record throughout the original trial and the Circuit Court appeal in 1952-53, was Ralph E. Powe, a Negro lawyer then of Wash. D.C. Later Powe became a New Yorker and in 1954 ran for Controller on the American Labor Party state ticket headed by John T. McManus of the GUARDIAN and actress Karen Morley. This was the election in which the ALP, by failing to obtain 50,000 votes for the two top offices, was ruled off the ballot in New York.

If the ALP's fate had been left to Powe, however, it would still be alive and kicking: he got 50,911 votes according to the final official canvass. We hope a final quashing of the Pittsburgh Smith Act indictments may provide Powe with another well-earned feather for his cap.

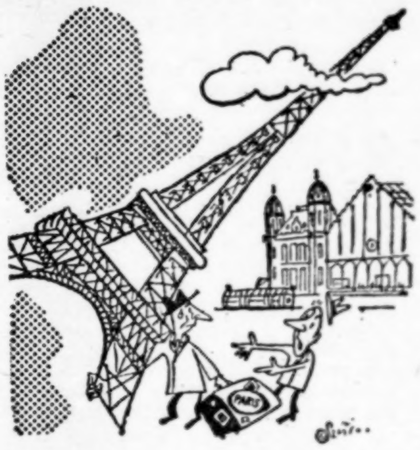
—THE GUARDIAN

A SOCIALIST RIFT—OR A WELDING TOGETHER?

The known facts on the Tito-Soviet talks

THE RECENT TALKS between Soviet CP first secy. Khrushchev and Yugoslavia's President Tito have given rise to much speculation—and wishful thinking—in the Western press.

Khrushchev went to Brioni Island on Sept. 19 for "a vacation and some fishing" with Tito, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Popovic and Vice President Kardelj. A week later Tito went "for a rest" with Khrushchev to Yalta, accompanied by his wife, Federal Executive Council Vice President Rakovic and Regional Assembly President Pucar. They were later joined by the Hungarian Working People's (Communist) Party chief Erno Gero.



Ludas Matyi, Budapest
TOURIST'S SOUVENIR

Although nothing was known about who invited whom in the first place, and little about what Tito and Khrushchev discussed, the Western press made an Eric Ambler thriller out of the meeting.

OLD GUARD CHALLENGE? In London there was talk about a rift among top Soviet leaders over the theory of "many roads to socialism" and the "anti-Stalin crusade." According to **UP** (10/2) some observers in London believed that "the Stalinist old guard may be challenging Mr. Khrushchev" and that Tito was "unhappy because the anti-Stalin program had not been expanded" among the E. European socialist countries. According to other "diplomatic sources" in London, former Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov and Lazar Kaganovich were "believed to have challenged Khrushchev's 'soft' policy" (N. Y. **Times**, 9/30).

The **Times'** Warsaw correspondent Sydney Gruson reported (9/24) that, "according to well-informed sources," at a recent meeting of the Soviet CP Central Committee a majority headed by Molotov defeated Khrushchev and Bulganin and sent out a letter to top leaders of other Communist parties "reassessing" Tito as a Social Democrat and not a Marxist-Leninist. A **Times** editorial the next day concluded that "all is not as stable as it has appeared to be in Moscow."

PEARSON'S VIEW: Later the **Times** (10/4) presumed that "Khrushchev may have lost the upper hand in the party leadership and now feels he must appease his opponents to remain in power." Columnist Drew Pearson (10/2), however, believed that the Tito-Khrushchev talks would result in the "complete reentry of Yugoslavia into the Soviet orbit" because U. S. Secy. of State Dulles, just before the Brioni meeting, had overruled the Pentagon's decision to send some jet fighters to Tito's army.

Soviet specialist Harry Schwartz opined (**Times**, 10/1) that the Brioni and Yalta meetings resulted from Moscow-Belgrade and Soviet intra-party friction growing in intensity since Tito's visit to the Soviet Union last June. "Informed diplomatic sources," Schwartz said, reported that Molotov and other old-guard Soviet leaders had fought hard against the June 20 joint Yugoslav-Soviet declaration providing for "full freedom of will and equality, friendly criticism, and the comradely character of exchange of opinions on disputed issues" among the various Communist parties.

According to Schwartz, some Soviet leaders have been increasingly worried by the fact that some E. European socialist countries "have proceeded far more rapidly in the liberalization process" stemming from the June declaration "than the Soviet leaders have thought advisable." "The general assumption," the **Times** reported (10/2), is that Khrushchev invited Hungary's Gero to Yalta "to help persuade Marshal Tito that he must be more patient and accept occassional detours in the road toward equality and wider independence of the E. European countries." Presumably Tito had been demanding an end to the detours.

AND STILL ANOTHER: The N. Y. **Herald Tribune** (10/4) thus summed up the various conjectures: "One theory holds that Tito went on a visit to lend support to Khrushchev's program of 'de-Stalinizing' . . . which others in the Soviet leadership oppose, that Tito was in fact bailing Khrushchev out of a difficult situation. Another is that Tito is being asked to join a new Cominform. Still another says that Tito is being discreetly dressed down for encouraging too actively the 'liberalization' in eastern Europe to which the Poznan uprising gave such dramatic expression."

Ludas Matyi, Budapest
A security policeman marries.

Washington was uneasy about the Tito-Khrushchev meeting and unable to throw much light on it. After briefing by U. S. diplomats abroad, the President approved continued aid to Yugoslavia (minus arms) and said he would keep the matter of further aid under "constant review." Dulles said Tito had promised him to remain "independent." To Dulles the Brioni and Yalta meetings were evidence that the Soviet leaders, "in groping for new policies to replace those of Stalin, have set in motion forces which they do not dare completely to repress, but, on the other hand, are not willing to welcome and encourage."

OPEN QUESTIONS: Known facts do not tend to support most of the speculations. It is undoubtedly true that the reappraisal set in motion at the 20th Congress of the Soviet CP will continue for some time before all differences are resolved—if they all can be. This requires conferences and discussions, which do not necessarily imply instability of the Soviet government, rifts among the socialist countries or reversing the decision of the 20th Congress.

Branco Draskovic of the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry acknowledged on Sept. 29 that Tito had taken up with Krushchev certain "open questions" involving "state and party relations." He said the two leaders' discussions had the "informal character of a free exchange of opinions." At no time during the Tito-Khrushchev meeting was there any adverse criticism of Moscow in the Yugoslav press or of Tito in the Soviet press. After Tito returned home from Yalta, the Soviet newspaper **Pravda** in a series of reports wrote about the continued "sincere, close and friendly cooperation" between Yugoslavia and other socialist countries.

COMINGS AND GOINGS: Welles Hangen reported from Moscow (**Times**, 10/8) that Pravda had published the news of E. German Premier Grotewohl's approval of closer relations with Belgrade and of E. German-Soviet assistance in building an aluminum industry in Yugoslavia. This, he said, strengthened the impression that Soviet leaders were "gratified" by the outcome of the Tito-Khrushchev talks.

The stream of visitors from other socialist countries arriving and scheduled to arrive at Belgrade indicates increasingly closer relationship rather than rift among these nations. Hungary's Gero, who last July replaced anti-Tito Matyas Rakosi, was in Belgrade last week discussing reconciliation. The Hungarian CP has readmitted former Premier Imre Nagy, who had supported Tito.

A Bulgarian delegation last week began the process of reconciliation between the two governments; and an Italian CP delegation headed by Luigi Longo hailed "the example of Yugoslavia" which "can serve as a stimulant in our struggle in Italy." Scheduled to arrive later are delegations from the Rumanian and the French CP.

THEY FEEL FREER: Pravda on Oct. 3 said Moscow-Belgrade friendship was being "built on the firm foundation of the community of Socialist goals and interests." Far from reversing the process started at the 20th Congress, a Moscow radio broadcast Oct. 2 said that "wider publicity" will be given to the decisions of the 20th Congress and that prominent Soviet leaders would be asked to make broadcasts. To some London observers this seemed to indicate that "Khrushchev is riding as high as ever in the Kremlin hierarchy" (**UP**, 10/2).

Observers on the spot have pointed out that the Soviet CP's 20th Congress decision to set up a "collective leadership" was precisely for the purpose of airing and discussing differences of opinion. As Edmund Stevens wrote (**Christian Science Monitor,** 10/8): "The stability of the present collective leadership derives [from the fact that members of the Presidium] now feel free to speak up and disagree without fear of being branded as heretics or worse, as in Stalin's days."

NO FALLING STARS: Stevens said that if "Khrushchev thought some of his colleagues were planning to gang up on him, as some foreign sources suggest . . . he would hardly feel free to travel far afield but would want to hug home." Besides Khrushchev, other top Soviet leaders have also been moving about the world. "In fact," Stevens wrote, "for a time there was hardly any of them left in Moscow. Yet the stars didn't topple from the Kremlin towers on that account."

To **Times** correspondent William J. Jorden (10/7) it seemed that observers abroad "were looking at the strange exchange of visits [between Tito and Khrushchev] with an excessive concentration on finding evidence of a major split between the two countries . . . or a dangerous division of views inside the ruling circle of the Soviet Union." Granting the possibility that there was such a division, Jorden said that the Tito-Khrushchev talks "will serve to smooth rather than ruffle feelings, strengthen rather than weaken the unity of the Communist leadership here and simplify rather than complicate Moscow's relations with the other Communist states."

About the common cold

WITH THE COLD WEATHER months approaching, the season of the common cold is upon us. What is and what isn't describable as a common cold?

Although there is a temptation to dismiss this with "everyone knows what a cold is," the fact is that many of us are prone to dismiss many potentially more serious illnesses as "just colds."

When the symptoms are confined to sneezing, runny and stuffed up nose, light coughs at night and in the early morning, then it may be all right to assume that the cold virus, or more correctly one of the cold viruses, is the culprit. In such cases, it makes sense to try the common sense rules for self-care rather than to hasten to call for the doctor. These rules include plenty of rest, avoidance of over-exposure, use of standbys like aspirin, a diet which includes plenty of citrus fruits and vegetables, and in the case of children avoidance of extensive social contact (keep them out of school).

If these things are tried and the cold persists or worsens, then it's time to get help from the doctor. Certainly any cold lasting more than a week or 10 days needs medical attention.

However, some symptoms immediately take an illness out of the common cold category and should prompt an immediate call to the doctor. One combination which we should be particularly alert for in children is that which includes sudden sore throat and fever. These may mean a "strep" sore throat, the most common door opener to rheumatic fever in school-age youngsters.

Strep infections are not difficult for doctors to treat these days, but medical science has still not devised any method of curing rheumatic fever or preventing the permanent heart damage that may follow in its wake.

(Federated Press)

DEMOCRAT FOR IKE

Harlem's Rep. Powell backs Eisenhower

REP. ADAM CLAYTON POWELL (above), Harlem Democrat, last week had a 30-minute chat with the President and came out prepared to rally "all disillusioned liberal Democrats" to Eisenhower and campaign for him in at least 10 major cities. He said he had been impressed by the President's stand on civil rights and his prestige abroad. Also motivating Powell was a snub he said he had received from Stevenson, and his failure to get an interview with him. The President heard a modified version of Powell's proposal to bar federal aid from segregated schools and, according to the Congressman, regarded it "with a good deal of enthusiasm." The plan would bar aid from school districts that defied an integration order from a Federal court.

Powell added that he still thought of himself as a Democrat and would support most local Democratic candidates, though he didn't know how he'd choose between Senatorial candidates Mayor Wagner and Atty. Gen. Javits. Republicans were heartened not only by what Powell could do for them but because it indicated that Powell, never far off base in his constituency, might have spotted a trend.

"WHERE, OH WHERE WAS THE QUEEN?"

The Bolshoi Ballet takes London

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

MOST of what was left of an Iron Curtain between Britain and the U.S.S.R. melted away in Covent Garden opera house on Oct. 3, when Moscow's Bolshoi Ballet company opened their London season. Exchanges of visits by footballers, archbishops, musicians, atomic wizards and political leaders had all helped relax tensions, but the Bolshoi visit—to be quickly returned by the London Sadler's Wells ballet visiting Moscow—had something special about it.

Love of ballet—an often trance-like or semi-hysterical condition for which an Englishman coined the word "balletomania"—has formed a bond between the British and Russian peoples tough enough to withstand the iciest blasts of the Cold War. It began in Tsarist days when London, already bewitched by Pavlova, welcomed the then unorthodox Serge Diaghileff, many of whose ideas formed the foundation for the now important and flourishing British school of ballet. Varying accounts of Russian ballet's post-revolutionary development brought back by visitors to Moscow have made British "balletomanes" increasingly impatient to see the modern Bolshoi company; and especially to see prima ballerina Ulanova, about whose greatness there were no differences of opinion.

LONDON'S PRIDE in playing host to the Bolshoi dancers could not have been more eloquently expressed than in the top-circulation **Daily Mirror's** headline after the opening night: "STARS OUT FOR ULANOVA — WHERE, OH WHERE WAS THE QUEEN?" Moscow, said the **Mirror**, had "sent its heart and soul to London" for this "magical, fabulous night," and "everyone" was there except the Queen who was absent "for some ridiculous reason." (Recently the **Mirror** criticized the Queen for not giving Bulganin and Khrushchev a state banquet when they visited Britain. The paper reflects public sentiment in such matters rather accurately.)

The Queen quickly saw the point and announced she would attend the Bolshoi performance of "The Fountain of Bakhchisarai" on Oct. 25. (This ballet with its pagan Oriental motif and exotic harem setting was the one seen by the Shah of Persia in Moscow last summer.) The Queen was, as a matter of fact, among the few who could have got first-night tickets merely by asking for them. Tickets were in far greater demand than for any attraction ever before presented in London. Since nearly everyone wanted to go, those who wrote in weeks before the opening had an outsider's chance according to the luck of the draw as the mountain of applications was opened. About half the tickets were sold at the theater to Londoners who stood waiting in queues for many hours. The box office opened a month before the first performance and within two days not one ticket remained at any price.

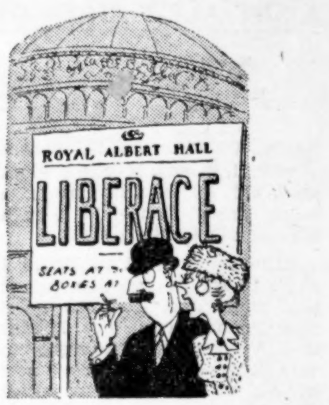
ULANOVA
"Just indescribable"

THE COMPANY opened its season with the 1940-vintage "Romeo and Juliet" ballet with music by Prokofieff. Outside the opera house $1 tickets (the cheapest) changed hands at black-market prices up to $14, and orchestra seats for all performances have been fetching $70. Society gossip-writers were disappointed by the lack of diamond tiaras in the audience of 2,000; the management had discouraged any super-fashion display because "the Russians don't go in for evening dress."

For once at an opera house first night, every particle of attention was concentrated on the stage. The **Mirror** accurately described the audience as "roaring their delight"; the **Express** timed the final ovations as lasting for a solid 15 minutes. Describing it in the **Sunday Times**, the highbrow poet and critic Sacheverell Sitwell wrote that "only two or three times in my experience can I remember such genuine excitement in the theater." Of Ulanova he said that she "is as great and perfect an artist as one had anticipated," and like all critics he was impressed by her obvious modesty. Over champagne between the acts, British ballet stars Margot Fonteyn and Alicia Markova were ecstatic and "dazed" by the art of Ulanova whom they called "really wonderful" and "just indescribable."

BY THE TIME the company had presented "Swan Lake" and "The Fountain of Bakhchisarai," controversy was raging among British "balletomanes" about the Bolshoi's general theory of presentation and choreography. The robust, full-length narrative ballets were in sharp contrast with the British style of shorter, more "intellectual" ballets emphasizing "modern" techniques and themes. Curiously enough it was the "popular" press which objected to the Bolshoi's obvious desire to give ballet a mass appeal without vulgarizing it, and which decided that the Muscovites were "old-fashioned."

In the reactionary **Daily Mail**, Arnold Haskell, author of best-selling books on the ballet, said the "Romeo and Juliet" production was "the most reactionary it is possible to imagine." The **Express** said the Bolshoi had achieved "ballet for the people indeed" but had "turned the clock back half a century" to do it; its critic found "The Fountain of Bakhchisarai" "colorful but oh, so commonplace" although he was "not surprised it's one of the most popular." But for the **Times**—enraptured like the others by Ulanova—"Romeo and Juliet" was "a translation almost of Shakespeare's very words into sheer poetry."



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"First Dulles, now this!—I always knew we were going to have to pay dearly for sending them Randolph Churchill!"

ONE THING emerged clearly from all the reviews — that the critics had rarely enjoyed themselves so much. The **Observer's** commendation of the company's "modesty, naturalness and sincerity (qualities in short supply in the West) and lack of theatrical posturing" seemed to reflect a general feeling. The **Observer** started its own controversy with London's other highbrow week-end paper, the **Sunday Times**, as to how "Russian" the ballets were. Said the former: "There was nothing here particularly Russian." Said the latter: "How quickly the Russian accent comes over . . . it is apparent in the first few moments."

The "popular" press's resentment at the Bolshoi's popularization of ballet seemed to indicate a certain confusion, but the controversy was spirited and healthy. Mikhail Chulaki, director of the Bolshoi company, posed a pointed question after the first night: "Can a production that arouses such emotion and provokes such a response as 'Romeo and Juliet' be described as 'old-fashioned'? Has Shakespeare been presented in a ballet before?"

He added: "It might have seemed more modern if Romeo had appeared in a blue frock and Mercutio danced his death scene on his right ear."

The Suez story

(Continued from Page 1)

was evidently resisting losing his shirt during the negotiations.

Tension was high the following day, for the British and French foreign ministers were scheduled to return home within 24 hours. That afternoon one foreign minister told a N.Y. **Times** correspondent: "It's all over. The British and French have caved." The same evening, President Eisenhower opened an "unrehearsed" TV public interview by expressing his gratification at learning just before the telecast that "Egypt, Britain and France have agreed on a set of principles on which to negotiate" a Suez settlement. He added: "It looks like here is a very great crisis that is behind us."

THE PRINCIPLES: The six principles the President referred to—and which made up the preamble to the new Anglo-French resolution—called for (1) insulation of the canal from the politics of any one nation; (2) transit for ships of all nations without discrimination; (3) respect for Egyptian sovereignty over the canal; (4) agreement between Egypt and the canal users on toll-fixing and charges; (5) allotment of a fair proportion of dues for canal development; (6) and arbitration of disputes between the Egyptian government and the Suez Canal Co. over compensation to be paid the company.

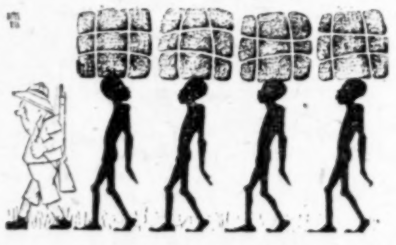
Britain and France, however, did not quite live up to the optimistic report of President Eisenhower in the resolution's operative part. They once again urged upon Egypt the proposal for international control of the canal carried to President Nasser by the Menzies commission and rejected by Cairo. They also accused Fawzi of not presenting during the secret negotiations any concrete proposals for guaranteeing unrestricted canal passage and reasonable toll charges.

ONE IN THE MORNING: Egyptian Foreign Minister Fawzi replied that, on the contrary, he had submitted at the secret meeting on Oct. 12 proposals to set up machinery to fix toll charges and allot a "reasonable percentage of the revenues of the canal . . . especially for improvements." He reminded the Council that Egypt had offered to renegotiate and modernize the 1888 Convention guaranteeing all nations free passage through the canal.

After the Oct. 13 Security Council session, British Foreign Secy. Selwyn Lloyd met with Secy. Dulles at one in the morning. He asked Dulles to persuade Washington to join the Suez Canal Users' Assn. (SCUA), although the association still lacks organizational machinery or even a director. Lloyd's request was designed to impose economic sanctions on Egypt by having SCUA members — including Britain, France and the U.S.—refuse to pay canal tolls to the Egyptian canal authorities. Dulles promised to send his reply to London through diplomatic channels.

Even as the UN Security Council was meeting, the British Conservative Party conference at Llandudno, Wales, heard Prime Minister Eden attack U.S. policy regarding Suez and insist that Britain would maintain her military concentration near the canal. The use of force as a last resort to solve the Suez issue, Eden said, "cannot be excluded."

The Oct. 13 Security Council session marked the end of the first phase of Suez negotiations. The first phase began with the first users' conference in London, held amidst Anglo-French military threats against Egypt. As the second phase began, Britain again was threatening a solution of the Suez issue by force; but there was a hollow sound to the threat this time; even British troops were reported resentful over mobilization.



Mitelberg in Humanite, Paris

First bearer: It seems that when they nationalize transportation they get rid of the pilots.

Muddying the waters further, Britain reported that Iraqi troops would be dispatched to Jordan to "stabilize" the situation during the Oct. 21 Jordanian elections (Iraq is a member of the Baghdad Pact). Israel protested vigorously against the move which would free Jordanian troops for any attack on Israel. While Britain promised aid to Jordan if it were attacked by Israel, at GUARDIAN press time it was reported that Iraqi troops would not enter Jordan "at this time." Washington was said to be in favor of the Iraqi troop move if "the unstable situation in Jordan should deteriorate further" (**Times**, 10/16).

AN OPEN DOOR? Although the Security Council failed to supply any pat solution for the Suez problem, UN observers felt that real progress was made in the sense that the secret meetings had opened the way for continued negotiations on the basis of the six principles. Some even predicted a second meeting soon in Geneva.

It was noted that at the last Security Council session, although seven of the 11 Council members supported Britain and France, some did so with reservations. Iran, for example, tried to tone down the language of the Anglo-French resolution to avoid "controversy."

Israel submitted at the Security Council's request a strong note of protest against Egypt's barring of Israeli ships through the canal. At the same time there were reports in Cairo that Tel Aviv would be willing to help stabilize the Israeli border in return for freedom of passage for ships bound for Israel.

In Moscow, Soviet First Deputy Premier Mikoyan said on Oct. 15 that "all states, including Israel, should have equal freedom to send their ships through the Suez Canal."

WASHINGTON STALLS: Balancing Eden's sabre-rattling, the Anglo-French resolution itself seemed to leave the door open for further negotiations; it invited "Egypt, Britain and France to continue their interchanges" and asked for further proposals from Cairo. The Eisenhower administration, it was clear, was determined at all costs to prevent a showdown with Nasser until after the elections.

Cairo was reported cautiously optimistic that the six principles "could be the first acceptable basis for a peaceful solution of the Suez Canal issue." Traffic at the canal, meanwhile, flowed smoothly as the number of pilots rose to 150, including 17 Americans.

At last report, Hammarskjold was charged with maintaining liaison between Egypt and Britain and France, and "explore" the possibility of further negotiations, with the six principles as a "starting point."

TALLAHASSEE TRIAL IS SET

Florida bus protest holds; Montgomery in 11th month

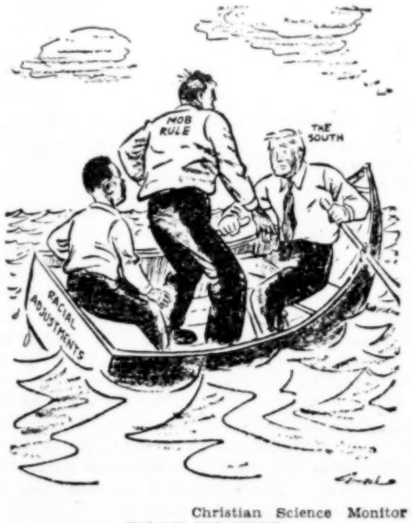
By Eugene Gordon

TRIAL of 21 Tallahassee, Fla., Inter-Civic Council members and of the ICC itself for carrying "passengers" in unlicensed vehicles was scheduled to begin this week. The defendants had been using their own automobiles to transport friends and neighbors who refused to ride jimcrow city buses.

The arrest of two Negro college students last May 26 for "placing themselves in a position to incite to riot" started the anti-jimcrow bus protest. Wilhelmina Jakes and Carrie Patterson, in taking the only seats on the bus, had sat beside a white woman. Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University fellow-students' began a stay-off-the-buses campaign. It quickly spread among Tallahassee's 14,000 Negroes. They used the Montgomery Improvement Assn. as a model and organized the ICC to carry on their protest.

This summer Tallahassee police, carrying no warrants, arrested ICC president C.K. Steele, car-pool coordinator Dan B. Speed, and other protest leaders. ICC attorney Theries Lindsey said:

"The Gestapo methods used by the Tallahassee police are designed to keep Negroes down and to prevent them from seeking the things that rightfully belong to them as citizens of the U.S."



Christian Science Monitor

BOAT ROCKER

"BADGE OF SERVITUDE": He said that at the police station the prisoners were asked how much money they had, the names of their "New York lawyers," how many cars the ICC owned, how much was paid the drivers, the amount collected at meetings, from whom they bought gasoline and at what price.

Lindsey declared the city meant to compel Negroes "to submit to the continued system of public degradation in the form of racial segregation, which is nothing but a badge of servitude."

Summer students continued the protest. A and M senior Yvonne E. Hyling told the Associated Negro Press the returning regular students "definitely will not ride the buses." She said domestic workers—a category to which most of the city's Negro women are relegated—had been walking every day for five months. She added:

"We are not fighting for intermarriage, or any of those things the white people claim will happen if we get to sit beside them on the buses. All we want is to know we can feel free and have our rights."

AS A HUMAN BEING: A Florida native, former 1st Lt. Herbert Alexander, also a senior, said:

"When I went into Japan on the winning team, and when I went into Germany with the U.S. Army, they recognized us not as black and white but as the victors. I came to know how good it was to be recognized as a human being, as a free man, as just another man. That was when I realized how wrong segregation had been all the time."

The ICC has accused A and M Pres. George W. Gore of telling the staff, faculty and employes that they could not be "loyal" both to the university and "to something out there." Many had been openly supporting the protest. Dr. Gore was said to have warned that the university's appropriation might suffer in the legislature if the students continued their action.

If the ICC could overcome its "transportation problems caused by lack of funds" it could win easily, exec. secy. M. C. Williams said. Also needed are funds for court actions. The Inter-Civic Council, Inc., is at 803 Floral St., Tallahassee, Fla.

MONTGOMERY HOLDS: Some 150 miles to the north, in Montgomery, Ala., the first anti-jimcrow bus protest ended its 10th month on Oct. 5. Rev. Robert Graetz, pastor of Montgomery's all-Negro Trinity Lutheran Church and only white member of the Montgomery Improvement Assn., said insurance agents were repeatedly cancelling policies on cars in the "boycott" pool. His own was canceled and he was hard put too find an agency to issue another.

Alabama's auto law is strict with all drivers in accidents. The police, extraordinarily tough on Negro drivers, are even tougher on those in the pool. Rev. Graetz said the protest movement had thus far successfully withstood all assaults. His house was bombed last Aug. 25, as were those of two Negro members earlier.

Six foes of Montgomery's protest movement who were also members of the county draft board resigned because Selective Service Director Lewis Hershey delayed the drafting of MIA attorney Fred D. Gray. The action followed appeals by the NAACP and the Baltimore **Afro-American.** Gray, classified 4-F as a part-time minister, had been reclassified 1-A when he became active in the protest. Hershey said he acted on evidence which showed that Gray was now a full-time minister.

Board chairman F.A. Miller accused Hershey of yielding to political pressure.

GRAY'S "ESCORTS": Last week Hershey refused to accept the resignations. He told the board in a letter that "selective service in your community can ill afford to do without your services." Four members were reconsidering; the other two declared their action was final.

Gray, meanwhile, has been shadowed by Montgomery police wherever he has gone, walking or driving. He said: "They are trying to humiliate and intimidate me. I drive very carefully because I know what will happen if I violate even the most minor of traffic laws."

Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, leading the Montgomery movement, told the Virginia State NAACP annual convention last week that, "figuratively speaking, we see old man segregation on his death bed." He added:

"But history has proved that social systems have a great last-minute breathing power, and the guardians of the status-quo are always on hand with their oxygen tents to keep the old order alive."

Forum on elections in Detroit Oct. 26

A FORUM on this year's election has been scheduled for Detroit's Highland Park YMCA on Friday evening, Oct. 26.

Speaking on "Which Way For the American People?" will be Ernest De Maio, president, Dist. 11, United Electrical Workers; Rev. Robert Bradby Jr., Greater King Solomon Baptist Church, former president of the Detroit NAACP; and Ernest Mazey, board member of the American Civil Liberties Union and former secy-treas. of the Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law.

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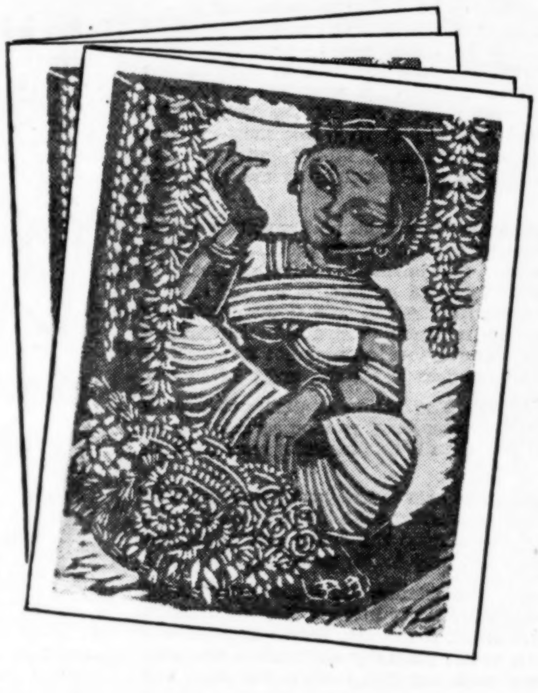

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ALGERIA, SUEZ, INFLATION—AND LOTS MORE

France after 8 months of Mollet — the dismal record

By Anne Bauer
Special to the Guardian

PARIS

THE GOVERNMENT'S DAYS are counted, but the count may be astronomically long. This is one thing the first sessions of the Chamber of Deputies have made clear.

Deputies, reserved during the opening sessions, showed their concern in private party meetings and asked uneasy questions. Certain behind-the-scenes movements indicate the possibilities of a change **inside** the Mollet government. Some observers believe pro-Catholic MRP deputies would not be disinclined to seal their pro-"European" affinity with the Socialists by entering the Mollet cabinet. Others point out that former Premier Mendés-France—who proved himself the uncontested master of the Radical Party at its recent congress—has avoided personal attacks against Mollet and was careful not to shut the door to improved relations in the future.

Meanwhile, the basic facts about parliamentary arithmetic and psychology remain unchanged. The Socialist Party holds a strong and enviable center position. The center right wants to avoid pushing it toward even a temporary alliance with the CP. The Communists, for their part, are more indulgent toward some SP policies than they would normally be, in order not to upset CP and SP rank-and-file trends toward unity of action.

NO ONE WANTS IT: The Mollet government thus is once again assured of a majority vote on each major issue in the Chamber—even if this majority changes with each vote.

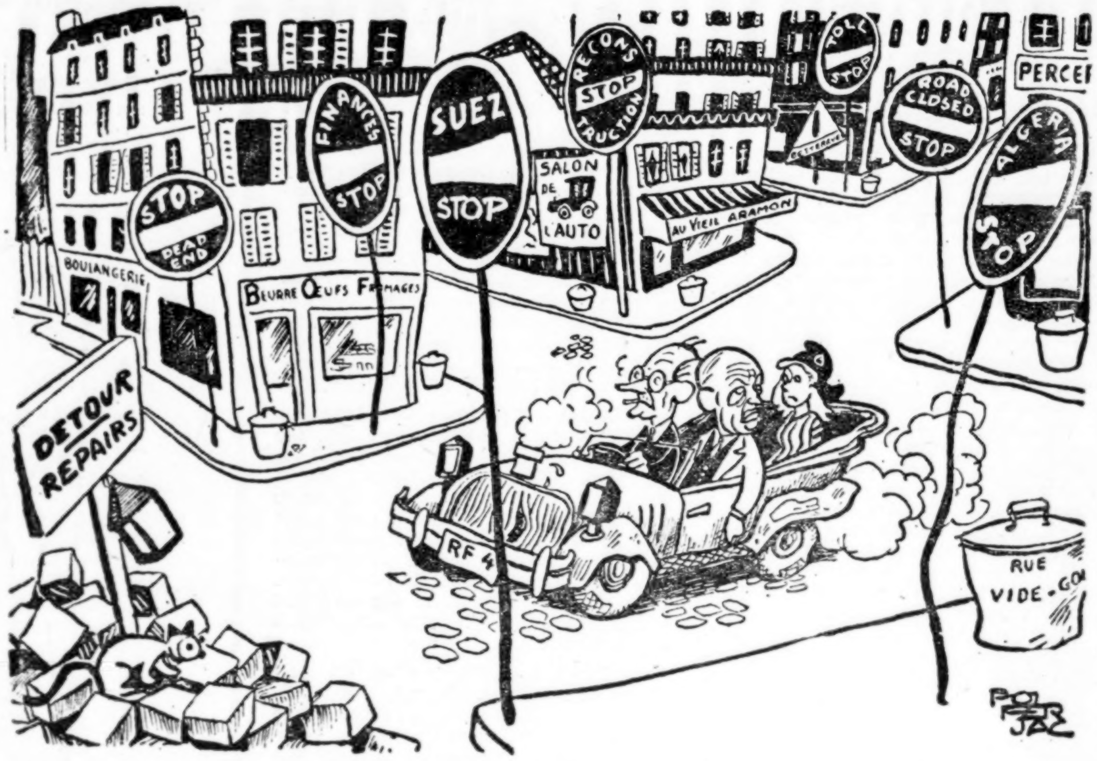
Another circumstance acts in the government's favor: no one is anxious to overthrow Mollet because no one wants particularly to assume the heavy and unpopular burden he would hand over to his successor.

In its eight months' existence, the Mollet government has led the country unwisely into avoidable economic and political difficulties. It has also deeply deceived the hopes of left-wing voters generally and shaken the confidence of its own rank and file. French Socialism will emerge from its present governmental experience with its banner singularly tarnished. This is the government's record on some of the day's major problems:

ALGERIA: "Pacification" in Algeria, due "six months from now" when Resident Minister Lacoste took over eight months ago, is still, Lacoste says, "just around the corner." Unfortunately, official victory bulletins never fail to find their tragic denial in next morning's newspapers. No week goes by without new military engagements and terrorist actions swelling the number of victims for France and Algeria. Mollet himself is no longer as confident as his Resident Minister. Lately, one of Lacoste's die-hard, never-will-I-negotiate statements, made to a right-wing Algerian newspaper, was withheld from press agency distribution by instructions from Paris. "Instead of pacification," said one reporter, figuring that the 400,000 soldiers now in Algeria mean one soldier for 20 Algerians, "what we have is simply permanent military occupation."

In Paris, a variety of projects for the long-promised, long-overdue Algerian Statute—which **could** be a concrete step toward peace—are being discussed in the wings and discarded. In Algeria the situation has deteriorated from deception and weariness to a point of exasperation. Even the mood of the Algerian population of European origin has changed lately. Most of them no longer think much of punishment or vengeance: they wonder when the butchery is going to end, and for good.

The situation has also reached the point of shame. It was revealed recently that several left-wing and union people, arrested in the wake of a freshly-discovered "communist plot" in Algeria, were tortured by the local police with Gestapo methods. The day Humanité broke the story the paper was confiscated. A little later, similar stories in all left-wing and liberal papers—up to and including the Socialist press!—could no longer be blacked out. A belated denial out of Algiers, based on local government and police testimony, convinced no one.



"WHICH WAY NOW?"

Canard Enchaine, Paris

A soldier just back from Algeria told us his unit's favorite song is a new version of a famous tune of the French Revolution:

Oh, it will be, will be, will be,
The colonists to the lampposts,
Oh, it will be, will be, will be,
The colonists, we will hang 'em!

SUEZ: French (and English) diplomacy have suffered an obvious defeat, and no matter how many faces the UN Security Council and behind-the-scenes negotiations may manage to save, the fact is there for all to see. If the Right and the extreme Left each continues to lambast Mollet's actions for reasons of their own, Suez has also been a blow to Socialist doctrine. The Socialists themselves are beginning to ask embarrassing questions, among others on the divergent attitude of British Labour. One SP leader, trying to explain that attitude, recently accused his English comrades of a "tradition of defeatism."

More candidly, Moutet, Socialist dean of Senators, admitted in his Senate opening speech that the government's actions had "put to a dire test the principles and ideas to which it remains attached."

THE INTERNAL SITUATION: Inflation is the major worry in the domestic field. Consumer prices, particularly food prices, have not stopped rising since this summer. And when the government recently decided to freeze prices and wages—a measure proclaimed in much the same terms by a number of reactionary governments before it—it became clear that (because of the way it works out in practice) the salaried classes would once again bear the brunt of the country's economic difficulties. Large-scale strike movements are likely to underscore that point in the near future.

The government's one success—a State Loan launched a month ago, and more than covered by subscription in record time—will weigh heavily on the Treasury in the end. It not only carries a generous rate of interest, but, as a guarantee, it is indexed on the mean value of future Stock Exchange movements. This could cost the State dearly if the financial picture continues the way it has been going these past years. No one is sure that the Loan will be effective in stopping inflation. For the moment, it plugs a small hole in the Treasury deficit —in exchange for a much bigger one in the future. Not even a reactionary government would have dreamed up such a financial operation. One commentator sized it up this way: "A Socialist government, rehabilitating the capitalists by making them partners to the prosperity of the country, will not fail to dissipate certain fears which the Mollet government, on coming to power, had aroused in financial circles."

THE BOX SCORE: The balance-sheet of the Socialist administration, after eight months, resembles in many major points that of a right-wing government. Mollet and his team have been led—partly by choice, partly by the pressure of circumstances, and often by blind and frantic anti-communism—to carry out the policies of some of the most reactionary groups in the House.

One right-wing deputy summed up the situation in a private conversation thus: "Overthrow Mollet at this time? Why should we? Of course we don't approve of everything he does. But who could do more efficiently some of the more unpleasant things we would want to do ourselves? Take Algeria, for instance . . . Let a Socialist government pull the chestnuts out of the fire for us: Frankly, what more can we ask?"

Letters on the election

A few questions

SEATTLE, WASH.

I don't think your statement is as good as Baldwin's. However, it was better than I expected from your editorializing in headlines and news articles. Some say if we support the Democrats we'll get Eastland. But if we support nobody, or somebody with no chance, we may get Nixon and will certainly get Eastland, too. Who helped Dixie kill the school bill? What is the difference between the average Republican and a Dixiecrat? Why do Negroes support Democrats so overwhelmingly as they did in our recent primary?

I appreciate the fine work you have done in the Rosenberg and Sobell cases, in the fight of Negroes for their rights, on foreign affairs, etc. But that Scintilla or whatever-it-was-called article by Belfrage was a low blow.

Certainly we must put pressure on candidates of both parties to take better positions on vital issues. However, can we expect the Democratic Party to go much further than labor will now?

E. M. Fitzroy

Blindest of alleys?

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

I should like to express my complete agreement with Baldwin that progressives should get behind Stevenson and Kefauver this year. The best argument for his position is the utter futility of those who find themselves with no alternative but to cast their votes for Farrell Dobbs. This is the blind alley to end all blind alleys! To saddle the progressive movement in America with such a prospect is a confession of final defeat. No matter what his program looks like on paper, Mr. Dobbs isn't going anywhere and everyone knows it.

The progressive-minded people have more important things to do now than to protect their integrity by a meaningless vote. Out here in Minnesota many progressives have been wandering around in the blind alley for the last eight years. This year there is a chance to start building again in the Farmer-Labor tradition. Please don't give us Farrell Dobbs and futility.

John M. Jacobsen

No alternative

SIOUX FALLS, S. DAK.

Eisenhower went to Korea and reluctantly called off the war. He called it off because there was no other alternative. Truman fired MacArthur for the same reason. The Korean war had to be stopped because we knew the military power of the Soviet Union and New China to be invincible. It is these two powers that have put an end to world war; not Eisenhower, as millions of people erroneously think.

The fundamental and vital fact is not being told by the Democratic leadership in this campaign. The people have not been conditioned to accept this obvious truth. Our patriotic fixation, our monumental conceit, our silly pride, our vanity, our gullibility and our faith in the war game will not permit of the truth in this campaign.

C. E. Ranney

Our serene leaders

DETROIT, MICH.

Each year that the arms race continues, the risk of devastation from nuclear warfare becomes greater. Congressional leaders serenely receive the estimate of military experts concerning the probable extermination of populations running into the hundreds of millions—as calmly, apparently, as if they were talking about grasshoppers or mosquitoes.

Eino Hiltunen

CRISIS IS A PART OF EVERYDAY LIVING

Israel seems calm as Middle East pot boils

By Ursula Wassermann

TEL AVIV, ISRAEL

RETURNING HERE after an absence of nine months, my first reaction—in a physical sense—was one of sheer visual delight at the colorful landscape with which the Orient always puts the pale shades of European greens and grays to shame. My first reaction in a political sense was somewhat different: After the constant worry about the troubled waters of the Middle East—a worry sharpened by distance and by sensational news accounts—it came as a shock and a surprise to find life as normal as on a Florida beach.

Apart from the headlines, neither the Suez crisis nor the continuing border incidents seemed to affect the everyday life of the nation. Since Israel during the eight and a half years of its existence has never known a time when there were no border clashes and no Middle Eastern crisis, the abnormal has become a part of daily living. It reminded me of the first flat I ever owned as a student.

ABSENCE OF TREMORS: It was a modern and comfortable flat, but it faced (that's why the rent was low) the main railway line out of London into the Midlands and Scotland. Every two minutes the entire building shook with the force of a slight earthquake; visitors inevitably commented on it, but I became so used to it that after a few weeks I never noticed it. Only when after 2½ years I was able to move into slightly more costly quarters, did I become conscious of the absence of tremors. I missed the trains so much that for weeks I could hardly sleep. Israelis have become so used to living on the **qui vive** that one sometimes wonders how they would adjust to a life of utter tranquility.

Unfortunately, they will not be put to the test soon; while there is little fear of immediate war, the decade-long state of no-war, no-peace presents the grim prospect of continuing for the time being. Moreover, if and when peace comes to this region, talent and energy—as well as money—may be usefully diverted from border duty to the intensified conquest of the desert. The lives lost daily could have been lived fully and usefully in the constructive development of the country's human and economic resources.

INDIAN SUMMER: It was shocking to me to arrive in Jerusalem, 24 hours after the mad shooting of a number of Israeli archeologists engaged in the peaceful work of excavation near the Jordanian border, and to find citizens completely at ease in pursuit of their daily tasks. It was equally shocking, two days later, after Israel's retaliatory attack in which nine lives were lost on this side and some 50 on the other, to find the beaches full to overflowing with gay sabbath crowds enjoying the sea and sun of a lovely Indian summer. It is particularly shocking because in this small country of less than 2,000,000, there is no unknown soldier: Everybody is at all times personally and directly involved in each casualty list, for everybody has someone in the army, or knows of some boy, or the mother of some boy, doing dangerous frontier duty.

It was Lewis Mumford who once asked: How soon do men learn to live with their own savagery? In Israel one may add: With their own savagery and that of their neighbors? The answer is, of course, that in the course of the past decades we have all learnt to live with our own savagery to an extent that defies the imagination; in Israel we would otherwise go stark, raving mad.

THE HERUT PARTY: If the Jordanian border is in a state of constant alert, the Israel-Egyptian frontier recently has been unusually quiet. Egyptian President Nasser, of course, has bigger fish to fry. With British and French troops threatening from Cyprus, Egypt must keep it All Quiet on the Eastern Front and thus avoid the possibility of attack from two sides.

Alarmist circles here predict that once Nasser is in undisputed possession of the Suez Canal, he will surely turn against Israel in his next bid for all-Arab leadership. But government opinion here shows remarkably little nervousness. Menachem Begin, leader of the pro-fascist Herut Party, continues to demand a holy crusade against the Arab world. He promised his followers at his party's recent convention the re-conquest of "historical Palestine," which would entail the occupation of all Transjordan. He also seems, on his recent trip to France, to have made contact with all the most rabid anti-Arab political circles there.

The danger of Begin, whose party constitutes the second largest in Parliament, should not be underrated. With apparently unlimited funds at his disposal, enjoying both local and foreign big business backing, Begin's demagogic influence is bound to grow as long as it can feed on racial hatred and prejudice, constantly reinforced by the continuing state of tension. Only an over-all peaceful settlement can eliminate his dangerous bid for power. However, his constant demand for a preventive war—which would unite not only the Arab world but all Asia against Israel—has so far fallen on barren ground.

NO JINGO TALK: The government in the Suez dispute has shown remarkable restraint. The request to be heard before the Security Council was perfectly legitimate, since Israel has confined itself to demanding free passage through the Canal on an equal basis with other nations. While sympathies here, in the absence of a peace treaty, can never be pro-Egyptian, there have—with the exception of the xenophobic Right—been no inflammatory statements against Nasser regarding the Suez dispute. Unlike Britain and France, Israel is not in principle opposed to the nationalization of the Canal. The government is concerned with free passage for Israel shipping, as supported by the UN Security Council in 1951 but never defended by the Western powers who were the real masters of the Canal until July, 1956.

One would wish, of course, that the Israel Government had made more positive use of Nasser's preoccupation with the Suez dispute—not through any irresponsible militarist venture suggested by Begin, but utilizing this period of comparative quiet to establish contacts which might have led to a rapprochement.

A LOOK INTO ASIA: The most hopeful possibility for such a rapprochement would seem to lie in the mediation of a large Asian power. Can Moshe Sharett's current Asian journey be a pointer in this direction? The optimists believe it is—but even they are careful to guard against wishful thinking.

Other hopeful signs for Israel's future integration into the Asian complex are the recent visit of Persian journalists here and the forthcoming visit of four Indonesian newspaper men. Here Israel has at last taken the initiative which will help break down the barriers of distrust and suspicion which have for too long kept her isolated from her Asian neighbors.

This step should be welcomed by all those who work toward a Middle Eastern settlement; for, in the years to come, peace here will heavily depend on Asian public opinion.

ISRAEL
EGYPT

Beauty knows no borders

In the peaceful negotiations over the selection of "Miss World" in London last week, Miss Israel (Rina Weiss) l., and Miss Egypt (Norma Dugo) wish each other luck. Miss England (Iris Waller), undisturbed about Suez, agreed without a show of force to share a room with Miss Egypt. Miss Germany (Petra Schurmann) won the title; Miss Israel was third.

CHICAGO CASE

Minerich to appeal on denaturalization

ANTHONY MINERICH, business manager of the Croatian weekly **Narodni Glasnik** and veteran of some of labor's toughest battles to organize the coal mines, has lost a round in his fight against the move to strip him of his U.S. citizenship.

Federal District Judge Walter LaBuy in Chicago upheld the Justice Dept. denaturalization petition after a six-day trial in which the government produced five "professional witnesses" against Minerich. These included Maurice Malkin, Flavian Stazer and Benjamin Gitlow.

Malkin had recently appeared in a similar denaturalization proceeding against Mrs. Rose Chernin Kusnitz in Los Angeles. In dismissing the Government's case against Mrs. Kusnitz, Judge Harry C. Westover had called Malkin an "impeached witness" who admitted perjury.

Stazer testified to seeing Minerich at CP meetings in Pittsburgh between October, 1929, and the fall of 1930, but after the trial was over defense counsel Irving Steinberg offered to prove that Minerich was out of the country throughout that period. He moved the decision be revoked on the grounds of Stazer's false testimony. The judge delayed his decision on the motion to allow the government to rebut.

Minerich came to the U.S. from what is now Yugoslavia at the age of two. The government charges that he concealed a police record (addressing fellow members of the United Mine Workers despite an injunction) and that he had been a member of the Communist Party. Two other staff members of Minerich's paper also face denaturalization proceedings. Minerich's attorneys said they would appeal Judge LaBuy's ruling.

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Glen Taylor comments on 'political skulduggery' in Idaho election

Following are excerpts from a statement by Glen H. Taylor about Frank Church who defeated him by 170 votes for the Democratic Senatorial nomination in Idaho. Taylor, a former Senator, was Henry Wallace's running-mate on the Progressive Party ticket in 1948:

"Frank Church . . . is the hand-picked candidate of the Clark machine which gave us the arch-reactionary and leader of the old America First crowd, D. Worth Clark. [Taylor was elected U. S. Senator after defeating Clark in the 1944 primaries.]

"For a great many years the Clark machine has made a business of corrupting elections here in Idaho. In the 1950 primary I lost to Clark by 950 votes. Being a Senator at the time I was able to get the counsel for the Senate Privileges and Elections Subcommittee to come to Idaho to conduct a recount. The ballots were subpoenaed and the accountants hired.

"An infamous political fixer was seen in the hotel where the committee counsel was quartered. The fixer was carrying a fat briefcase. At 5 a.m. the committee counsel fled the state and there was no recount. Because he ran out on the recount, the committee counsel lost a job that paid him $10,000 a year.

"In the recent primary election, at a time when the vote was nearly complete and I was some 75 votes ahead, I issued a statement saying that there should be a recount and offered to help Mr. Church get one should I be the winner. Mr. Church said he would await the final count before commenting on my suggestion, and that he was going on a vacation. If upon his return he should find that he was the nominee he was certain he would win with a united party behind him.

GLEN TAYLOR
The old sewer game?

"Having delivered himself of what had all the earmarks of a victory statement, he then absented himself. from the state while the county canvassing boards prepared the 'official canvass.' This official canvass was marked by the finding of an astonishing number of 'mistakes' in the tally sheets. I was over 100 votes ahead when the counting started. The law of averages took flight and enough 'mistakes' were found to place Mr. Church in the lead by 170.

"In search of evidence for a recount I personally canvassed a precinct, house to house, and discovered a discrepancy of 70 votes in my favor. I determined to recanvass the precinct and secure affidavits when I was stopped by the police.

"At the Platform Convention in Pocatello I told Mr. Church that I felt that because of the suspicious circumstances surrounding his nomination he could not win without a recount. Mr. Church said: 'We will see Senator Gore.' Senator Gore is chairman of the Senate Privileges and Elections Subcommittee which is empowered to investigate senatorial elections and conduct a recount. He was in Pocatello to address the Democratic Platform Convention. When I was ushered in to see Senator Gore, Mr. Church was just coming out. Needless to say, Senator Gore was not enthusiastic about a recount.

"Mr. Church has said that a recount would 'take too long.' I offered to settle for six precincts. If that failed to show enough discrepancy to change the result of the election, if projected, I publicly promised to drop the matter and whole-heartedly support Mr. Church. At Pocatello I even offered to let Mr. Church select 3 of the 6 precincts.

"I was offered a substantial sum of money to support Mr. Church but he and the 'machine' have adamantly opposed a recount, which would have gained my support and allayed suspicions with little expense . . .

"I would like to see Senator Welker defeated but not at the price of aiding and abetting the political skulduggery of the 'machine'."

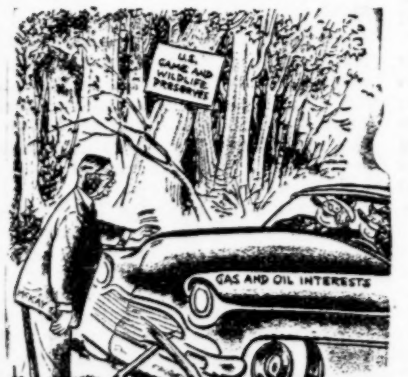
The election story

(Continued from Page 1)

the Korean war, stood pat on his platitudes.

In some places candidates felt obliged to stray further from their party platforms. In the New York Senate race, for instance, Mayor Wagner did better than Stevenson in championing desegregation. His opponent, State Atty. Gen. Javits, left the GOP reservation to condemn all "right-to-work" laws and charge that most were in effect in states run by Democrats.

The progressive push, however gentle, clearly came from a popular mood mostly to the left of the candidates. The general dissatisfaction was enough to make peace and civil rights prime issues when both seemed likely to be buried in bipartisanship. The similarities in the general policies of the contending parties were so great that the voter, like the amateur racing fan, had to make his selection on hunches.



Herblock in Washington Post

"Ah, yes—we must look after our little four-wheeled friends."

The Nation commented (10/13): "The lack of clear-cut issues in the partisan sense doubtless accounts for the excessive weight being given to personal considerations such as Mr. Stevenson's 'Eastern' manner, the warmth of the President's smile, the relative campaign techniques of Vice President Nixon and Sen. Kefauver and the attentiveness which the President shows to Mrs. Eisenhower in public appearances."

THE CHAIRMANSHIPS: The over-all Congressional struggle to determine whether or not the Democrats retain their precarious hold in both houses also suffered from a lack of significant differences.

The important Congressional chairmanships of committees in which legislation can be throttled or sent to the floor are now held mainly by Southerners. If the Republicans were to organize the Senate these are the changes that would be made:

The Banking Committee would pass from Fulbright (Ark.) to Capehart (Ind.); Gov't. Operations from McClellan (Ark.) to McCarthy (Wis.); Judiciary from Eastland (Miss.) to Wiley (Wis.); Labor-Welfare from Hill (Ala.) to Smith (N.J.); Rules and Administration from Hennings (Mo.) to Jenner (Ind.).

DUFF'S RECORD: There were individual Senate races of real importance in which progressive hopes rode with Richards against Kuchel in California; Morse against McKay in Oregon; Clark against Duff in Pennsylvania.

Sen. James Henderson Duff rode into Washington in 1950 with a bare 51.3% of the popular vote and in defiance of the Joe Grundy machine. Many thought this defiance ungrateful since the machine had given Duff his political start and made him Governor. But he was scarcely a reformer. His opposition to Boss Grundy was that of an aristocrat toward a tradesman. Duff traces his family back to the 1630's in Pennsylvania. He went to Princeton, cultivated the best of the millionaires on the Eastern seaboard and, though he dealt in real estate, was known as a gentleman of independent means.

He sided with the Eisenhower wing of the GOP against the Taft wing for geographical reasons: he was interested in U.S. intervention in Europe rather than the Far East. His stand on civil liberties at the height of the witch-hunt in 1951 was summed up in an address on "atomic spies" to the Loyal Order of Moose:

"Instead of coddling them and giving them jail terms, we ought to hang them."

In the Senate he chalked up a formidable absentee record. When he was at work he voted consistently on the wrong side on labor and farm legislation and on civil liberties, though he frequently came out on the right side on housing issues.

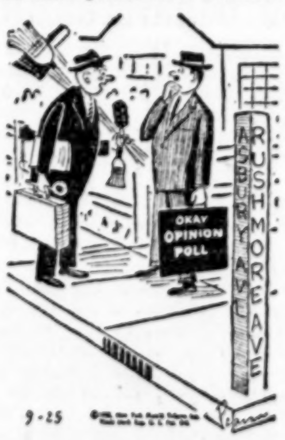
CLARK'S RECORD: Opposing him is Joseph Clark who upset a couple of machines on his own. He and Richardson Dilworth set out in 1947 to overturn the entrenched and deeply corrupted Republican machine in Philadelphia. In a series of races for minor office the two showed such strength that the Democratic machine reluctantly backed them. In 1951 Clark was elected mayor of Philadelphia and Dilworth attorney general of the state. In 1955 Clark backed Dilworth for mayor and prepared himself for the Senate race.

Clark and Dilworth are reformers in an old fashioned sense: clean government men, sweeping the stables. They are concerned not with national issues but with driving out rascals, installing new sewers, improving the taste of Philadelphia's water—known as the "chlorine cocktail." They have not worked all the wonders promised in playgrounds and schools but have substantially bettered the city administration.

At issue in other states was the question of whether some of the more obvious roadblocks to progress could be cleared from the Senate.

FOUR HORSEMEN: Unfortunately, four horsemen of the far right are running on the Republican ticket in the Midwest where peace is an issue and the Democrats seem to shun any major effort to compete with the GOP for the title of peace party.

- **In Illinois,** where Republican Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen could easily be tagged with almost every sin in McCarthy's record, the Democratic 41-year old state legislator Richard Stengel has aimed most of his ammunition at an embezzlement scandal in the Republican State Auditor's office.
- **In Iowa,** the fight against Sen. Bourke Hickenlooper, who red-baited TVA years before McCarthy, has some promise of success. There the Democratic candidate, "Spike" Evans, has tied his opponent to the policies of Agriculture Secy. Ezra Taft Benson so successfully that Hickenlooper has reportedly asked Benson not to come to his aid in the state. All observers have noted the farmers' shift from the GOP in Iowa and the rise of an anti-Benson movement, but still give the edge to Eisenhower.
- **In Idaho,** the Democrats' chances of defeating Sen. Herman Welker, whom the **Nation** has called "McCarthy with his brains kicked out," have been substantially lessened with the primary defeat of Glen Taylor. Taylor was nosed out by less than 200 votes and last week was reported still considering a write-in candidacy. The Democratic candidate, Frank Church, a former state president of the Crusade for Freedom, is trying to match Welker's record on anti-communism, wooing Republicans rather than Democrats. (See Taylor's statement above.)
- **In Indiana** Sen. Homer Capehart is being opposed by former Secy. of Agriculture Claude Wickard, backed by the Natl. Farmers Union and most official labor organizations. Wickard is running a quiet campaign whose success will depend on farm prices close to election day.



N.Y. Herald Tribune

"Should I wear an Ike or an Adlai pin around here."

The Nelson story

(Continued from Page 1)

and passport cases, always shielded from cross-questioning by the Government's cover of immunity and in the interests of "national security."

The Government insisted in its brief that it "had no reason to doubt and did not doubt that this testimony was truthful." The testimony which the government asked to be tested for its credibility included these items:

- On Nov. 14, 1952, Mazzei pleaded guilty to a charge of adultery and bastardy. Later he repeatedly testified that though he was innocent of that charge, his superior in the FBI had insisted he plead guilty to avoid testifying. The FBI special agent has since denied this.
- On June 18, 1953, Mazzei told the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations that he had met a man at a Civil Rights Congress meeting who said he had been "selected by the Communist Party to do a job in the liquidation of Sen. Joseph McCarthy."
- In November, 1953, Mazzei identified a Government official as a long-standing member of the CP. (The government brief does not say what happened to the official nor why, in three years, Mazzei had never been charged with perjury.)

PLOTS AND POISON: Last July Mazzei swore that after taking CP courses in "sabotage, espionage and handling arms and ammunition," he had been sent to Miami because it was a seaport. He had been taught by CP officials in Pittsburgh how to "blow bridges, poison water in reservoirs and eliminate people." He said he discussed with attorney Leo Sheiner, a Miami lawyer against whom Mazzei was called on to inform, the project of "knocking off" a Miami judge.

In the process of linking Sheiner to CP activities Mazzei described elaborate assassination plots against Senators and Congressmen. The government in its statement added that none of the Florida testimony, including that concerning Sheiner, "is supported or corroborated by information in the possession of the Government."

Leo Sheiner is, nonetheless, still disbarred in Florida.

The government cited Mazzei's testimony that he had received $1,000 a month from the FBI and insisted he was paid only $172.05 in expense money in the ten years, 1942-1952. Mazzei also swore that he had never been arrested. The government says he was, in connection with a paternity suit, and several times thereafter for failing to make support payments for the child he allegedly fathered.

It was this ten-year record that prompted the government at last to doubt Mazzei's reliability.

FOR HOLIDAY CARDS OF DISTINCTION, SEE P. 5

BOOKS

Into China

NEAR the island-studded lake at Hangchow, set among pale hills where monasteries nest between bamboos and willows, peasants still pause before two statues kneeling behind iron bars. As their ancestors have done for eight centuries, they spit with careful aim in the faces of the two stoolpigeon-betrayers of the Sung dynasty hero Yo Fei, whose tomb lies beyond.

On the other hand—as Claude Roy observes the new China being built on much that was kept from the old—the people "no longer bother to hate the foreigner," the white man who brought them the gifts of opium and mass starvation and slavery. Not even for Chiang and napalm do they hate him, because now "they are no longer inferiors and will never consent to become so again." They asked fair-haired Claude Roy if he was a Soviet or an English tourist; he said "French," and they smiled. Once he said "American" to see what would happen: "Taken by surprise, they smiled less, but they did not abuse me."

While in new China the good that is inherent in humankind is patiently sought out, but without mercy toward obstinate evil, sterile and juvenile hatred remains the yardstick of respectability in America. When Senate aspirant Jacob K. Javits in New York girded himself to fight charges that he might still be harboring a decent idea, it was foreordained that his next speech would be a "Don't recognize China!" expectoration in the face of the biggest nation on earth. The world wonders if political America will ever grow up. Even the London **Times, in lead** editorial on the Chinese Communist Party's 8th congress, pays reluctant tribute to "the immense drive that is reshaping the life and the power of the world's most long-lived civilization," "the energy and the command of its leaders."

HIS BOOK **Into China*** reveals Claude Roy as a Western traveler fitted to write most beautifully (and Mervyn Savill beautifully translates him from the French) about China past, present and future. An author and critic of distinction, he is in years young enough to react with spontaneity to China's new adventure since 1949; and in understanding and scholarship, old enough to fit it into the context of today's half-admiring, half-hostile world and of 4,000 years of Chinese history. He brings with him a mature wit but is above all a poet, with little use for cold if sensational statistics.

It is with a poet's tenderness that he paints not only China's vast experiments in enriching life but her lakes, mountains, trees, streets and interiors; the human oddities and foibles as well as the heroic deeds of her little peasants and her famous leaders. He looks at the Breughel-like landscape of a swarm of people containing and harnessing the wrath of the river gods, listens to one of the Hwai project engineers and thinks of the creation story in Genesis and of Walt Whitman ("Walt would have liked to hear Wang speaking").

HE HEARS a hostile journalist say to a "people's capitalist" in Shanghai who has been praising the policies of the regime: "You Chinese are too subtle for me; you know the wolf will eat you eventually and you sit down quite happily at its table"—and is delighted by the capitalist's reply: "I simply don't believe in the wolf."

A solitary hangover of the old days reminds him how remote those days already are: a blue-and-black talking bird in a market, endlessly repeating, "Hello Johnny, Hello Johnny." He studies and falls in love with China's art and theater and language, and feels humbled and excited as he watches a poet creating, with slender brush in his people's ancient-writing, a poem of double beauty. A pair of lovers evokes for him the poetess Li Ching-ch'ao writing by candlelight in the 2nd century:

Tonight betwen the gauze curtains, the mat and pillows will be cool.
I arrange my rebellious hair at the temples with a slanting brooch
To force my beloved to compare me with the flowers.

THE CHILDREN OF NEW CHINA
No longer a "fraternity of empty stomachs"

For Roy there is no better measure of the revolution than its liberation of the women from centuries of enslaved misery, to become part of today's joyous, teeming construction of new China. And among the thousands of brightly-colored pieces of his mosaic he inserts here and there, mockingly, the Old China Hand intoning from the dead past: "Love does not exist for the Chink—he is incapable of deep feelings." . . . "All they want is a place in the sun where they can sleep and scratch their sores." . . "The Chinese has no nerves" (an Anglo-Saxon missionary); "his vision and hearing are not as keen as the European's, his olfactory sense is very imperfect . . . it can be definitely maintained that the functional power of his different organs is inferior to that of the white race" (a French doctor).

AS ROY comments, "a brutal wagoner finds all horses vicious." Now that China is driving her own wagon, our juveniles tell us that reconstruction is only being done by annihilating the individual in a formless mass. But, Roy asks, can "the inner life" be defined as "a delicious avarice of the soul", and is a man "only himself when in opposition to others?" Are not the hundreds of men and women of whom Roy weaves his tapestry, who practice "public confession" that they may better participate in the collective crusade for the good life, individuals as rich and three-dimensional as any? Isn't it, indeed, true that "we only realize ourselves in, by and through others", and is not the human being "characterized by what makes him present to his fellows, not by what cuts him off from them?"

Such is Roy's conviction as he finishes his book in a cafe in North Africa, looking out upon an endless "picturesque" procession of "starving humans migrating toward a horizon of despair." The world contains an "infinity of local colors" but the struggle between "the fraternity of empty stomachs" and the "very widespread conspiracy of full stomachs" is universal.

HE DOES NOT enjoy the music, the lovely faces and the warmth of the sun against this background and, after China, will "only feel at home in a place where happiness is not defined by what one steals from the ignorant, but as the common good which brings increase by participation." For this men everywhere are joining together, and "the only iron curtain capable of separating men is the iron curtain raised between the wretched and themselves by some to whom the hunger of the majority is in the last analysis profitable: the iron curtain of police helmets, linotypes, armored cars, tanks and tommy-guns."

It's a pleasure to meet a journalist who includes "linotypes" in that list. If you aspire to office in the U.S.A., this is a book to avoid.

—Cedric Belfrage

* INTO CHINA, *by Claude Roy. Robert M. McBride Co., 235 Fourth Ave., 407 pp. with map and 16 pp. photographs. $4.95.*

A GREAT ENGLISH NOVEL

Painters' pants

"Being the story of twelve months in Hell, told by one of the damned, and written down by Robert Tressell."

THIS SARDONIC INSCRIPTION stands under the title, at the portals as it were, of a strange, great-hearted and altogether wonderful book, **The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists***, by the above Robert Tressell. A story of working class life in fat old Edwardian England, it has recently been published in its correct entirety for the first time.

The "philanthropists" of the title are a gang of housepainters who live and work in the town of Mugsborough, a sort of fictitious amalgam of all the dreary south of England towns in which the author himself is known to have labored out his years. Why these men could be called philanthropists is the theme which Tressell develops to the fullest limits of irony. From their condition one would hardly imagine that at the same moment Britannia was ruling the waves and was in fact at the peak of her imperial power in the world. These particular Britons are worse off than slaves.

MOST AUTHORS KNOW EVERYTHING about their characters except what they actually do to make their living. Not so Tressell. In the very first chapter he takes us right out on the job. And what a job it is! The painters and their helpers are busy renovating and redecorating a large town house called "the Cave" for their employers, the firm of Rushton & Co. (The names Tressell uses have the delightful direct symbolism, beyond crudity, of the old English morality plays. For instance, Rushton & Co.'s commercial rivals in Mugsborough are Dauber and Botchit, and the town's Tory representative in Parliament is Sir Graball D'Encloseland.)

In those good old days the employers of Mugsborough had no such bars to the classic working of the capitalist system to hamper them as the eight hour day, minimum wage laws, trade unions, or the like. The wages Rushton & Co. pay their men are at best slightly lower than subsistence level, and the hours they work them seem limited only by the hours which they themselves can stay awake to count the profits. The benefits of this system trickle down to the employes in the form of constant hunger, bad health, and never-ending terror of getting the sack, for a layoff in Mugsborough means starvation. Perhaps worst of all, the painters are forced to violate the standards of their craft in "scamping" the work to satisfy their bosses' haste for a quick dishonest profit.

TRESSELL'S ARTFUL DEPICTION of the sheer physical privation and terror of what it is like to work too long, too hard, with too little food in your stomach will bring a chill to the heart of anyone who has ever been in a remotely similar situation. In such a setting we might expect to see a group of sub-human automatons stumbling about "the Cave." Such a presentation would meet current artistic standards and we might pass them on the street with just such thoughts. Tressell knows better. He knows his men from the inside. Novels live or die by the amount of life in the people in them. Tressell's housepainters are as rich and juicily human a collection of people as has been seen in an English novel since the days of Charles Dickens.

They work, they talk, they have a pint after work, they swear, they moan, they play the horses, they read their venal newspapers with idiotic opinions, they are alive. There is savor and humor in their talk and, God help us, this is a wildly funny book. The laughter is not used to dissolve unpleasant situations. The terrible, true thing about it is that it springs from them. Their thoughts and their talk circle around their dilemma, never pinning it down.

ONE OF THEM HAS AN ANSWER. Frank Owen is a socialist. The book is, with deep humor, never funnier than when Owen is earnestly attempting to explain to the men that money is the cause of their poverty, socialism the answer to their needs. They call him "the preacher" and think him half insane. They will concede that he is logically right, but such things are not, that terrible phrase, "for the likes of us." Owen rages inwardly, torn between love and hate for these people who will not only accept such misery but who would let their children in for the same thing.

Owen, a working man portrayed by a working man, is a remarkable figure. He is a gentle man, sick with tuberculosis. He is the opposite of a hairy chested, violent, "proletarian" hero. His virility lies in his devotion to the truth of his ideas; his courage is in living for them. Later in the book he is joined by George Barrington, an educated man curiously reminiscent of Tolstoy's Pierre Bezuhov. Their union symbolizes that vital alliance of the humanitarian intellectual and the militant working man that we seem to have lost.

The Frank Owens and the George Barringtons of this world are its true heroes, if we must have heroes. They thought they talked and taught in vain. However, "the sun of socialism," as Tressell puts it, has risen now in half the world. The mighty trade union movement in this country and the British Labour Party exist because of people like them.

Tressell too, builded better than he knew. His book is a great English novel, directly in line with the tradition of Dickens and Thomas Hardy.

John B. Farber

THE RAGGED TROUSERED PHILANTHROPISTS, by Robert Tressell. Lawrence and Wishart, 81 Chancery Lane, London, W. C. 2. 633 pp. $3.75.

DO YOUR HOLIDAY SHOPPING THROUGH GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE. See p. 12

Storm Center

By James Aronson

IF YOU'RE SMELLING something strangely fresh on the October breeze—in contrast to the dreary hot air of the election campaign—it could be a whiff of something called sanity which is floating comfortably close these days.

The Nelson decision in the Supreme Court, for example, indicated a strong revulsion at the Government's persistence in using toads to condemn human beings. The fact that the Reds-in-Government issue couldn't even get off the ground in this campaign (except for a spineless bit on Alger Hiss in which Stevenson and Nixon buried the hatchet in Hiss' head) was evidence of a vast boredom with the issue.

And now, from Hollywood, of all places, there comes something to stand up and cheer about: a first-rate film which dares to discuss frankly, and in unmistakably unsympathetic terms, the corrosive effect of hunting witches and burning books. In short, a film which lays right on the line the basic issue of civil liberties—and the low estate thereof—in our country today.

The film is **Storm Center.** It was produced by Phoenix Productions and released through Columbia. It was written by Daniel Taradash and Elick Moll, and directed by Taradash, who won an Academy Award for his film script of **From Here to Eternity.** It stars Bette Davis and a remarkably sensitive and unspoiled little boy named K[illegible]n Coughlin, and is earnestly played by a group of actors who seem to sense exactly what the whole thing is about. But the most pertinent thing about the production is not the playing or the quality (very simple and very high) but the fact that the film was actually made and released and is being shown.

THE STORY too briefly is this: an aging woman librarian is faced by the city fathers of her town with the decision to remove from her shelves a book entitled **The Communist Dream** or be fired. She refuses and is fired. A group of citizens want to fight for her but she calls them off—because of pride and an unwillingness to expose them to hurt. Goaded on by the prevalent anti-intellectualism which is a hallmark of Cold War America, the townspeople condemn her to a life of solitary dry rot. But worst of all, in the course of the hate drive, the minds of the children whom she loved, and who loved her, are twisted into regarding her as a monster (come to life from out of the pages of **The Wonder Book**) who is going to destroy baesball and everything else clean and decent in the Western World As We Know It. Especially does it affect one boy, struck by the wonder of books, who comes to see himself as a non-conformist unaccepted by his doltish father and his playmates. Tormented by a choice between the librarian who was the wide world to him, and the narrow world he is forced to know, he is driven to an act of nightmarish insanity. He burns down the library to exorcise his torment.

BETTE DAVIS, KEVIN COUGHLIN IN "STORM CENTER"
Scheduled to open at the Normandie in N.Y. Oct. 20

In a closing scene, as the decent ones gather round the librarian as the flames destroy the old library, its former custodian says:

"I have no intention of leaving. I'm partly responsible for this. I didn't fight back, as my friends wanted, and as I should have done. Now I'm going to stay and help rebuild this library if I have to do it with my bare hands. And if anybody ever again tries to remove a book from it, he'll have to do it over my dead body."

Does anybody up there want a better moral for our time?

BUT THIS MOVIE has a history—six years to be exact. It was conceived in 1950 and it took its authors all this time to get it onto the screen. It was the victim of a series of unexplained delays. It scared Mary Pickford out of coming back to the movies after a 19-year absence (she showed up in 1952 for the first day's work and never came back). It gnawed several executives out of countless expensive cigars. But the author and the producer, Julian Blaustein, persisted—and here it is.

A Phoenix Production, it says. The phoenix, according to ancient Eastern folklore, was a fabulous bird said to live in the Arabian desert for 500 years. It then built its own funeral pyre and burned to ashes, out of which it arose young again. Is it too much to hope that in the year 1956—165 years after the Bill of Rights went into force—the rebirth of American freedom will begin to be marked?

That's one delivery we'd love to assist at.

Pete Seeger sings: Chicago Nov. 10

PETE SEEGER'S "Songs of Friendship" at Milda Hall, 3142 S. Halsted St., will mark the anniversaries of American-Soviet diplomatic relations and the founding of the Soviet Union. Seeger will be heard Sat. eve., Nov. 10, in a program of American folk songs and songs of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. Only one speech is scheduled. The Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship is sponsoring the program to mark 23 years of diplomatic relations and 39 years of the Soviet Union.

Tickets are 90 cents and $1.50 and are available from the Council, Suite 403, 189 W. Madison St. Phone: AN 3-1877.

Handicapped kids: a special program

THE Educational Alliance and the United Cerebral Palsy of New York City jointly sponsor a special program for handicapped children at The Educational Alliance, 197 E. Broadway. This program is especially planned for children between 3 and 12 and will be conducted daily, mornings and afternoons from Monday through Friday.

The children will be taught to work and play together; to use new play materials, arts and crafts media, music and books. They will also participate actively with non-handicapped children at the Alliance. Free transportation will be provided. The program is supervised by professionally-trained leaders. For further information call Gramercy 5-6200 and ask for Mrs. Dorothy Solomon or Miss Shirley Davis.

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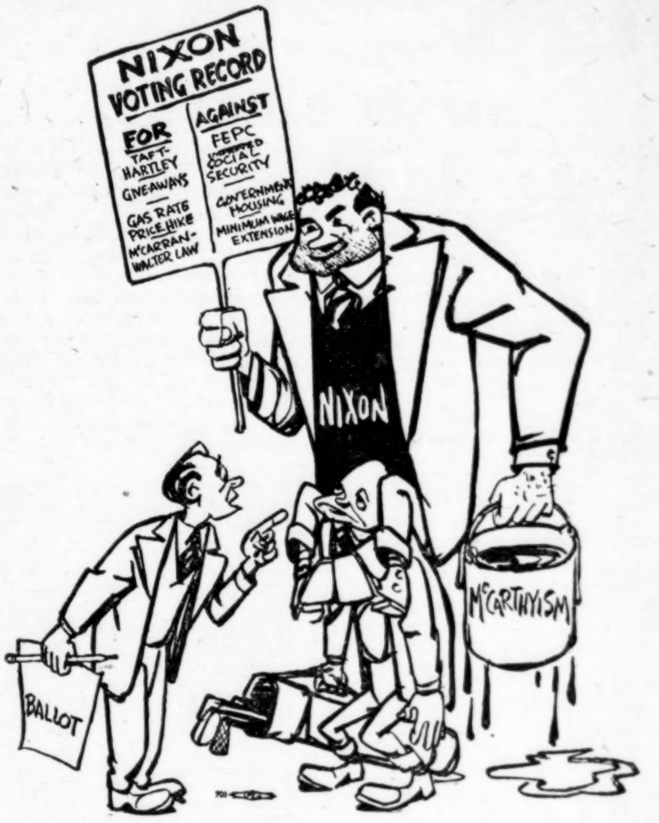

Drawing by Fred Wright

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—Warner & Swasey ad, **Newsweek,** Sept. 10, 1956

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CALENDAR

Chicago

PETE SEEGER sings "Songs of Friendship," folk music of American and Soviet peoples. Sat., Nov. 10, 8:15 p.m. Milda Hall, 3142 S. Halsted. Adm. 90c & $1.50. Tickets from Chi. Coun. Am.-Sov. Friendship, 189 W. Madison, Suite 403. ANdover 3-1877.

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The **AMERICAN SOCIALIST FORUM** presents a lecture-discussion on "Suez, Egypt and the Near East"—Midland Hotel, Fri., Oct. 26, 8 p.m. Donation: 50c.

FLIGHT TO THE SOVIET, color films, personal report of 10,000-mile trip last summer. Mon., Oct. 22, 8:30 p.m. at Orchestra Hall. Tickets from Chi. Coun. Am.-Sov. Friendship, 189 W. Madison, Suite 403. AN 3-1877. 90c, $1.65, $1.90.

TABITHA PETRAN reports on her trip to USSR for the Guardian, 32 W. Randolph, Hall C-1. Fri., Nov. 30, 8:15 p.m. Adm. 90c. Tickets from Chi. Coun. Am.-Sov. Friendship, 189 Madison, Suite 403. AN 3-1877.

Detroit

FORUM: "1956 ELECTION—WHICH WAY FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE?", Fri., Oct. 26, 8:30 p.m., Highland Park Y.M.C.A. Speakers: **Ernest DeMaio**, Pres. Dist. 11, U.E.; **Rev. Bradby, Jr.**, Greater King Solomon Baptist Church; **Ernest Mazey**, former sec'y-treas. Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law, Board member ACLU. Proceeds to National Guardian.

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Boston, Mass.

ELECTION RALLY, SWP's Presidential Candidate, Farrell Dobbs, speaks on SOCIALIST PROGRAM FOR 1956 ELECTION, Community Church, 565 Boylston St., Tues., Oct. 30, 8:30 p.m.

Buffalo, N.Y.

Hear **FARRELL DOBBS**, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for President, on "The Real Issues in the 1956 Election Campaign," an exposure of the two parties of big business, and an appeal to all radical-minded workers for progressive political action. Militant Forum, 831 Main St. Sat., Oct. 27, 8 p.m.

Philadelphia

An Evening with **EARL ROBINSON**, "Folk Songs of America." Fri., Nov. 2, 8:30 p.m. Benjamin Franklin Hotel, Adm. $1.50. Benefit Legal Fund of Dismissed Teachers.

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JOYCE COWLEY, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the U.S. Senate from N.Y., speaks on "How To Build A Labor Party"—a Marxist analysis of the history of 3rd Party movements. Militant Forum, 116 University P, Fri., Oct. 26, 8 p.m. Admission: 25c.

SOCIALIST UNITY FORUM
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Program of Public Discussion
1—Friday, Oct. 26, 8 p.m.
LEFT WING POLICY IN 1956 ELECTION

Clifford T. McAvoy, former legislative representative N.Y.C. CIO Council and National CIO-PAC
Albert Blumberg, Legislative Director, Communist Party
David Dellinger, Editor "Liberation"

2—Friday, Nov. 9, 8 p.m.
PROSPECTS FOR AMERICAN SOCIALISM

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, noted historian and Negro leader.
John Lewine, former director Eugene V. Debs School
Carl Marzani, Author, "We Can Be Friends."

3—Friday, Nov. 23, 8 p.m.
SOCIALISM AFTER STALIN

William Mandel, Author "Guide to the Soviet Union," "The Soviet Far East" etc.
F. G. Clarke, Socialist journalist and lecturer.
Chairman: Michael Zaslow

The Socialist Unity Forum aims to provide a platform where socialists of various persuasions may discuss important problems facing the contemporary movement. Such an exchange of opinions, by creating greater clarity, and hence greater unity of purpose, should contribute toward the regroupment of socialists in a new and united movement. Subscription: $1 each forum; $2.40 for series.
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Hear **FARRELL DOBBS**, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for President, on "The Real Issues in the 1956 Election Campaign," an expousre of the two parties of big business, and an appeal to all radical-minded for progressive political action. Militant Forum, 116 University Place. Thurs., Nov. 1, 8 p.m.

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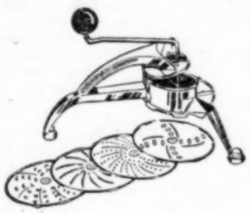

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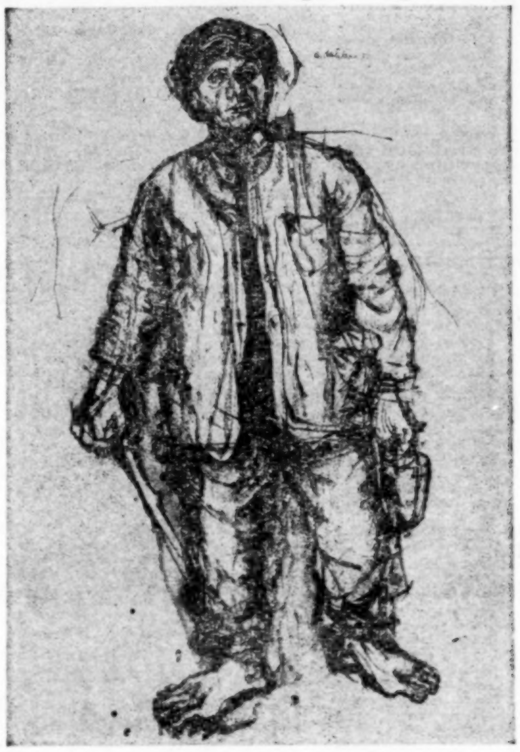

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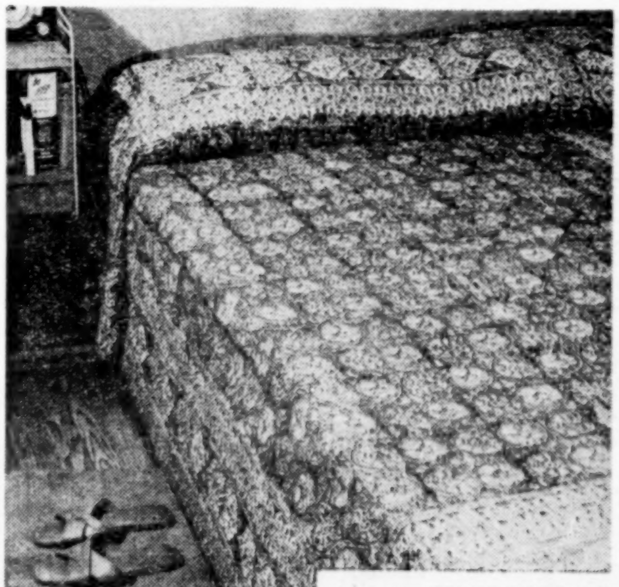
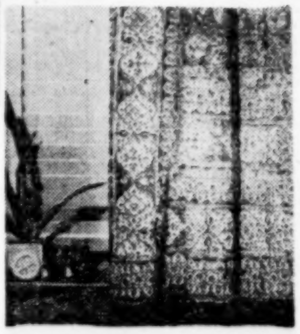
ppd.**

10 GIANT PRINTS 17x22 — Each Suitable for Framing

Most Americans are familiar with and in awe of the post-war Italian realist films. However, few realize that the same renaissance has invaded the graphic arts. Here is a beautiful folio of Italian post-war artists expressing themselves in a warm realist manner. Most of the artists were Resistance fighters during the war. From these experiences with their people they have joined warm expression with extraordinarily impeccable technique (nothing heavy-handed—not "poster art"). Each print is a suitable gift. Buy several folios and solve your holiday gift problem.

Hand Woven Cotton Prints From India





MULTI - PURPOSED: Use them as bed spreads, draperies, couch throws, etc.

ECONOMICAL: Hand blocked designs, colorfast, completely washable.

DECORATIVE: Blends with modern, traditional, colonial decor.

COLORS: (predominant) Natural cream, green, red, blue or black. Be sure to indicate color choice when ordering.

90x108 ......$4.95 ppd.
Pair ....$9.50 ppd.

72x108 ......$3.95 ppd.
Pair ....$7.50 ppd.